

Party Crashers: White Nationalists and Election 2000

**A Special Report by the
Center for New Community**

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Introduction: White Nationalists and Election 2000

One year ago, white supremacists shot their way onto the front pages. A young member of a white supremacist group called the World Church of the Creator killed two and wounded nearly a dozen others in the Midwest. A few weeks later, an older Aryan Nations member shot-up a Jewish daycare center and killed a Philippino-American postal worker in Los Angeles.

While violence continues to be a problem, particularly from the less erudite white supremacists attracted to groups like the World Church of the Creator, the most sophisticated cadre, with the most experience, are going to electioneering - not only because it's an election year, but also as part of a strategic shift in the movement.

This year the spotlight is on ballots, not bullets.

The shift serves as a reminder that white nationalist activity is as much a threat to democracy and civil rights as it is to physical safety. We must not let concern over horrific acts of racist violence blind us to the more sophisticated and subterranean moves from margins to mainstream.

White nationalists, those who subscribe to a variant of racial nationalism which holds that those people racially defined as white constitute a nation, have shifted their attention from waging race war to winning political contests. This year, white nationalist leaders have given their aid and support, spread the word, helped raise funds, and in some cases have even played significant roles within campaigns.

As *Searchlight* noted earlier this year, the white nationalist movement has undertaken a significant tactical shift. "The wild-in-the streets rhetoric is now almost completely gone in favor of sober organizing around cultural and political issues with a mass appeal among a large constituency of white people" (April 2000).

Buoyed by the successes of the Freedom Party in Austria, the National Front in France and even the British National Party (BNP), virtually all the major players in the white nationalist scene are investing significant time and energy in election 2000. The Council of Conservative Citizens, the Liberty Lobby, the American Nationalist Union, the American Friends of the BNP, and even electoral veterans like David Duke, are participating in this year's campaigns. Other groups, like the Rockford Institute, serve as bridge institutions -- using the campaign season to inject white nationalist themes into the paleo-conservative ranks.

As the introductory essay explains, past attempts to construct an autonomous party like the Freedom Party have failed in the United States. Structurally, there are numerous impediments to the creation of a viable third party, such as ballot access requirements, campaign financing, and the winner-take-all single member district system. As a result, white nationalists have developed a parasitical relationship to the political process. They look to latch onto new parties and initiatives coming around the bend rather than constructing their own.

While much of this report is set around the Reform Party candidacy of Patrick J. Buchanan, this report is not about what Pat Buchanan may or may not have said, (there are already a multitude of sources on that subject), or any particular political party. This report focuses on where white nationalists and their organizations are concentrating their forces in 2000.

The momentary focus of such efforts may be the Buchanan campaign and the Reform Party, but the ultimate goal is to create a viable white nationalist political structure capable of attaining power. Short of that, there is optimism that they can help to re-align the two major parties, like the Wallace campaigns of 1968 and 1972. They are also capitalizing on the podium presented by a political campaign to recruit new members and to re-inject racism and other forms of bigotry into the social and political dynamic.

Bigots at the Ballot Box: A Preview

When considering the import of far right, racist and white nationalist electioneering in the current period, it is useful to remember that white supremacy has a long history at the center of American political life. Prior to the Civil War only white people could be endowed with the natural rights of citizenship as a matter of constitutional law, a fact which most presidents believed rested on either a Biblical mandate or a biological imperative. Even in the early years of the twentieth century, those at the pinnacles of society regarded beliefs in the supposed superiority of white people as scientific facts. In 1913, for example, former President Theodore Roosevelt wrote a letter to a eugenics association arguing that, if "racial quality" was to be improved, then the "fecundity of worthy types," such as Nordics, must be favored. (*The Legacy of Malthus: The Social Costs of the New Scientific Racism*, 1980). Although such sentiments were once typical among Anglo-Saxon elites, they would today be cause for opprobrium.

White supremacy as a distinct social movement opposed to the status quo emerged after the Civil War when the Ku Klux Klan and its imitators lead a bloody guerilla war, which ended Reconstruction governments and citizenship rights in the South. When the Klan reemerged in the 1920s, in addition to the violence it engendered, it had an electioneering edge. According to historian David Chalmers' classic text, *Hooded Americanism*, dozens of high-level elected officials from Oregon to Colorado to Indiana--including governors and U.S. senators--were either Klan members or owed their allegiance to the Klan.

In the 1950s and 1960s many Southern politicians--again from county judges to governors--openly avowed their belief in white supremacy and organizations such as the Citizens Councils and Ku Klux Klan held great sway. For example, Alabama Governor George Wallace's chief speechwriter, Asa Carter, was a former Klansman, according to historian Dan Carter's (no relation) book on Wallace, *The Politics of Rage*. With the definitive defeat of *de jure* Jim Crow, however, white supremacist electioneering moved from the mainstream to the margins.

As Klan and neo-Nazi groups benefited from a resurgence in the late 1970s and early 1980s, a few of their top leaders ran for office, essentially as publicity stunts for their primary political affiliations. Klan Grand Dragon David Duke, for example, ran for the Louisiana state senate as a Democrat in 1975, winning 33% of the total, over 11,000 votes. In the 1980 election cycle, Klansman Tom Metzger won the Democratic Party primary in California's 43rd Congressional District with 33,000 votes. He lost badly in the general election, although he maintained his voter base despite much publicity about his Klan membership. Also in that cycle, Harold Covington received 43% of the votes in the Republican primary for North Carolina's Attorney General with 56,000 votes. Covington's total was remarkable given that he was the leader of the National Socialist Party of America at the time and had engineered a Klan and neo-Nazi coalition known as the United Racist Front. Although Covington was not indicted in the incident, in November 1979 Front members had gunned down (communist) anti-Klan protestors in Greensboro.

After the triumph of Reagan-style conservatism in 1980, key white supremacist movement chiefs began looking for a new nomenclature with which to express their long-held beliefs. Lead by Willis Carto and the Liberty Lobby, the Populist Party was established in 1984. Its first chairman was a former Mississippi Klansman, Robert Weems, and the founding leadership cadre were drawn from several different white supremacist groups. (Leonard Zeskind, *Its not Populism: America's New Populist Party; A Fraud by Racists and Anti-Semites*, A background report published jointly by the Southern Poverty Law Center and the National Anti-Klan Network, 1984). The Populist Party's first presidential candidate, former Olympic Gold Medallist Bob Richards, disassociated himself from the Populist Party after learning the nature of Liberty Lobby's connections to it.

In the 1988 election, however, David Duke--by then leading a group he called the National Association for the Advancement of White People--was the Populist's presidential candidate. The

party's organizational apparatus benefited only slightly from Duke's candidacy. It gained ballot status in just 12 states, for example, although in several of those states Populist candidates ran (unsuccessfully) for local office.

Nevertheless, Duke himself gained greatly from his association with the Populist Party. He honed his campaigning skills, developing a three-part message in 1988: One, white people were being dispossessed, victimized by non-whites who took their jobs and wealth with affirmative action and welfare--a theme which he had articulated since his years with the Klan. Two, moneyed elites from the Federal Reserve Banks were bankrupting family farmers and de-industrializing the United States--a theme which Duke picked up from the Populist Party itself. And three, a tidal wave of non-white immigration was "swamping" the white majority and would result in the United States turning into a "Third World" country--a theme that was particularly current among Western European racist parties such as France's Front National. All three themes, with variations, became staples of future white nationalist candidacies, particularly after 1990.

In addition, Duke built himself a national base of financial supporters in 1988 and quickly switched to the Republican party after November. Through a combination of clever campaigning and happenstance, Duke won election to the Louisiana House of Representatives as a Republican in February 1989 (Leonard Zeskind, *Ballot-Box Bigotry: David Duke and the Populist Party*, CDR Background Report, 1989). Duke's victory unsettled the Republican Party. A motion to censure Duke for his racist and anti-Semitic beliefs, for example, was permanently tabled at a Republican state central committee meeting, reflecting the ambivalence of the state party's leadership over the meaning of the Duke victory.

Duke followed his 1989 election to the Louisiana statehouse with a 1990 run for the United States Senate, again as a Republican. During that race Duke benefited from his new status as a supposedly mainstream candidate, developed a contributor list of 30,000 names, raised over two million dollars and won 605,000 votes---approximately 60% of the white vote.

Duke's campaigns became models that other white supremacists sought to imitate. A former National Socialist White Peoples Party activist, John Nugent, ran in a Tennessee Republican party congressional primary, for example. In another instance, Ralph Forbes--a former American Nazi Party captain and Klansman--ran in Arkansas' Republican primary for Lt. Governor after doing a stint as Duke's campaign chair. Both men were unable to reproduce Duke's successes.

In 1991 Duke again ran as a Republican statewide for Louisiana office, this time for Governor. Again his campaign generated millions of dollars in contributions and he won a majority of white votes in the state--pushing the sitting Republican governor out of the race in the first round of voting. But Duke overstepped himself by attempting to launch a Republican presidential campaign within weeks of the November run-off.

Former Reagan administration communications boss Pat Buchanan--who had long before argued that Republicans should co-opt David Duke's issues -- became the white nationalist candidate of choice in the 1992 cycle. Buchanan easily edged Duke out of the Republican primary limelight.

Despite Duke's temporary success in the Republican Party and Buchanan's saliency as a candidate for white nationalists in 1992, the Populist Party again fielded several dozen local candidates and a presidential candidate--James (Bo) Gritz. Gritz, a highly decorated Vietnam veteran most associated with prisoner-of-war issues, was briefly Duke's vice presidential running mate in 1988. Gritz later became a favored speaker on the paramilitary survivalist circuit and at white supremacist summer camp gatherings. Gritz also gave his Populist Party campaign a boost by negotiating Randy Weaver's surrender to the FBI after a bloody standoff in northern Idaho. Despite Gritz' considerable rhetorical skills, however, his bid failed to gain more than 100,000 votes in 19 states or generate the funds necessary to run better than a fifth-rate campaign.

The Populist Party's failures highlighted the difficulties any "third party" faces when attempting to gain ballot access or garner widespread publicity. The Populists suffered further from a relative shortage of funds and most importantly from its inability to attract a critical mass of skilled middle-level campaign managers and volunteers. White supremacists were far more practiced at burning crosses in cornfields and holding survival fests than they were at door-to-door campaigning, precinct by precinct. The Populist Party officially went out of business in 1995, pledging to support Pat Buchanan in the next round of Republican primaries. White supremacist cadres would have to attach themselves to either the Republicans or other third party campaigns if they hoped to augment their resources for electioneering and become viable in the future.

Crashing the Party: White Nationalists and the Reform Party

The Banquet Hall at Jonathan Byrd's Cafeteria in Greenwood, Indiana is a long way from the halls of power in Washington D.C., but it's precisely where Presidential hopeful and white nationalist standard-bearer Patrick J. Buchanan is finding support – middle America. Confidently striding to the podium for an after-lunch speech at the Reform Party of Indiana 2000 State Convention, Buchanan told the cheering crowd "If I ever take the oath of office of President of the United States, when my hand goes up, their New World Order comes crashing down."

The small-town cafeteria didn't glitter like the Republican National Convention stage. These are the trenches of the culture war. From the looks of those encouraging enlistment in the Buchanan brigades, the war is going to get even uglier.

In the 1992 Republican Party presidential primaries, Buchanan's campaign became the flagship for the anti-abortion Christian Right and white supremacists whose hopes had been raised by David Duke's Louisiana campaigns. Buchanan lost, but not before congealing a new constituency and mortally wounding George Bush's reelection bid. Never surrendering, he used the prime-time limelight of the GOP Convention to throw down the gauntlet in his now infamous "Culture War" speech. In 1996, he ran again, this time winning the crucial New Hampshire primary and drawing a broader constituency of unhappy middle Americans into his "pitchfork brigades."

NEW PARTY: SAME MESSAGE

The third time was not a charm for Buchanan. In the 2000 primaries he could not gain support within the GOP, so he left. Buchanan decided to leave the Republicans for the Reform Party -- while maintaining the same middle American nationalist themes which made him a contender twice before. He continues to lash out at immigrants, abortion and other staple targets, but he focused his attention this time around on the economic elite. "We need a new patriotism in America that puts country first," he said. "American workers, our brothers and sisters, are not here to serve the financiers of some New World Order." With its opposition to trade agreements like the North American Free Trade Agreement and the World Trade Organization, Buchanan's brand of economic nationalism has turned the heads of some progressives and trade unionists.

Of course, that appeal is precisely what makes Buchanan attractive to white nationalists like *Citizen's Informer* editor Sam Francis. "What has happened in the Buchanan revolution is the emergence of a new political identity... of a particular cultural force--Middle America--as a defining core." These middle Americans oppose both internationalist elites, who have sold off their country, as well as people of color who threaten to "swamp" them with a wave of immigration and high birth rates. Both are threats to their core (racial) identity. In fact, they see elites colluding with the underclass in the dispossession of the real (white) Americans.

During his previous Presidential campaigns, white nationalists have enlisted to support Buchanan. In 1996, several white nationalists were exposed in the Buchanan ranks. William Carter was removed from Buchanan's South Carolina state steering committee after being questioned about his ties to white supremacists. Carter was state chairman for David Duke's 1992 presidential campaign in South Carolina. (Carter was also the chairman of the South Carolina Council of Conservative Citizens.) Sandy Lamb, a Florida local chair of Buchanan's 1996 campaign, was also removed because she concurrently held an official position in the National Association for the Advancement of White People – David Duke's organization.

Buchanan got into the most trouble around Larry Pratt, a national campaign co-chair. While not a white nationalist, Pratt played a key bridge role between the white supremacist movement and the gun lobby as the head of Gun Owners for America. Pratt was exposed for his attendance at the 1992 "Meeting of Christian Men," sponsored by Christian Identity preacher Pete Peters.

Buchanan's white nationalist credentials make it unnecessary for him to have to stump on hardcore themes. As one prominent white nationalist noted recently, "Whatever Buchanan may or may not say to the liberal media, we all know that deep down he is a genuine Nationalist and we think he and the Reform Party deserve our support.... Help make sure Buchanan is on the Ballot in your state and wins your state's nomination. Then work up until the national election on getting him the best possible vote." (*Heritage and Destiny*, Winter/Spring 2000).

PICKING UP THE PITCHFORKS

Seeking to capitalize on this newfound opportunity, white nationalist leaders are flocking to the Reform Party and the Buchanan campaign, and encouraging their supporters to join the Buchanan "brigades." Across the country, white nationalists are entering the Reform Party apparatus, and viciously battling for its control— and a purse of upwards of \$12 million in federal election funds.

Articles supporting Buchanan have appeared in numerous white nationalist periodicals and events. Buchanan is *the* topic of conversation among white nationalists in 2000. The following are examples of recent white nationalist organizations lending aid and support to the Buchanan campaign:

American Friends of the British National Party

The American Friends of the British National Party (AF-BNP) – the group set up in the United States as a fundraising arm of the British National Party -- is a nexus point for white nationalists of every stripe and ideological tendency. Leaders of the group have also worked their way into American third party politics by getting involved with the Reform Party. The leader of the AF-BNP has not only been working for the Reform Party, but he has also given Reform Party leaders an opportunity to address meetings of his white nationalist group.

Launched in January 1999, the American Friends of the BNP has been actively promoting the British Nationalist cause in the United States. Headed by British expatriate, Mark Cotterill, the AF-BNP has raised thousands of dollars for the BNP and raised its profile significantly among the nationalist right in the US.

At a downtown hotel in West Palm Beach, Florida, on February 5, 2000, white nationalists and Reform Party members were introduced to one another at a meeting sponsored by the AF-BNP. The meeting was co-sponsored by the racist and anti-Semitic America First Party.

After Mark Cotterill, Chairman of American Friends of the BNP, spoke about his group's plans, John Simila of the West Palm Beach Reform Party took the floor. According to Cotterill, "Simila spoke of the importance of getting Nationalists registered to vote and then making sure they vote for the Reform Party in the general election." Simila's pitch was followed by a speech by London, England British National Party leader Stephen King on the electoral success of Jorg Haider in Austria.



**West Palm Beach Reform Party Leader John Simila
speaking at an AF-BNP meeting**

Unlike the Freedom Party or the National Front, the BNP is more clearly carrying around the baggage of its history. They have not been able to become a mass party using immigration as a mobilizing issue. The BNP is Britain's largest racial nationalist party, with over 2000 members. Formed in 1982 it promotes holocaust denial and the conspiracy that Jews brainwash people through control of the media. In recent elections in London it obtained 47,000 votes.

Not wanting to be left out of the Reform Party bonanza, Cotterill told supporters in a recent internal newsletter:

"Many of our members are already helping out the Buchanan Campaign, which has its headquarters not very far from our office - just outside Vienna, in northern Virginia. However as the campaign heats up they need all the extra help they can get....So we urge all of our supporters who live within easy reach of Vienna, to call up the Buchanan headquarters (703) 734-2700 and volunteer some time there, they have plenty of work that needs to be done. Likewise, if you would like to help the Reform Party in the run up to the General Election, on whose ticket Buchanan is running, please call the Buchanan Campaign office and they will put you in touch with your local Reform Party area representative."

On March 30, 2000, over 120 people crowded into a room in Arlington, Virginia, to hear speeches from David Duke, former Klansman-cum-cyber-Nazi Don Black, National Alliance membership coordinator Sam van Rensberg, and others. The last speaker of the day was Peter Gemma, a spokesperson for the Virginia Reform Party who stood in front of the huge black-and-white Celtic Cross flag, passed around a petition and spoke about the "importance of getting Pat Buchanan on the ballot in all 50 states."

An April 22, American Friends of the BNP meeting addressed by BNP leader Nick Griffin was attended by David Duke, Sam Francis, white supremacist attorney Kirk Lyons, John Tiffany of the Holocaust-denying "revisionist" journal *Barnes Review*, and Jim Lubinskas of *American Renaissance*. Also in attendance at the Griffin meeting were a number of people from Pat Buchanan's campaign staff and the local Reform Party. This highlighted the close connections between the AF-BNP and the Virginia branch of the Reform Party.



Virginia Reform Party and "Buchanan campaign spokesperson" Peter Gemma at an AF-BNP meeting. Seated behind Gemma, CyberNazi Don Black.

Until recently, Cotterill was also doing clerical work in the Virginia headquarters of the Buchanan election campaign.

Other AF-BNP meetings have been addressed by National Alliance leader William Pierce, Ron Doggett of Duke's new group NOFEAR, and Thomas W. Chittum, author of *Civil War II: The Coming Breakup of America*. Cotterill's familiarity with the National Alliance dates back to 1994 when he toured its headquarters while on holiday. Within a year he had moved to the US, retaining his close relationship to this day. Cotterill hit the headlines in 1999 when he was exposed as a youth worker for the Council of Conservative Citizens.

Before setting up the AF-BNP, Cotterill had been the US distributor for the quarterly publication *Right Now!* Launched in 1993 by a coalition of former neo-Nazis and far-right adherents, *Right Now!* established itself as the premier magazine on the British right. Every issue combines interviews with Conservative and anti-European Union politicians with articles from academics who promote

eugenics. While still officially backing the Conservative Party, many of its main activists have switched over to the BNP since the election of leader of Nick Griffin. Some 500 of its 2000 subscribers come from North America.

Council of Conservative Citizens



Pat Buchanan (center) sharing the stage with Council of Conservative Citizens leader Father Denis Pavichevich (right) and *Chronicles* staffer Srjda Trifkovic (left) - Chicago, June 30, 2000

The Council of Conservative Citizens grew out of the old white Citizens Councils – the principal organization that fought for segregation in the South during the Civil Rights era. At end of 1998, it appeared as if the role of the Council of Conservative Citizens in public life would be greatly diminished after the exposure of close ties with powerful elected officials. However, recent events point to a new cycle of activity by Council members in the electioneering sphere.

On June 30, 2000, nearly 100 supporters gathered at the Holy Resurrection Serbian Orthodox Cathedral on Chicago's Northside for a \$100 a plate fundraiser for Reform Party Presidential candidate Pat Buchanan. Although a posted flyer announcing the hastily scheduled event claimed that the meeting was sponsored by a group calling itself the "Coalition for Just Peace in the Balkans," it was clear who was in charge.

The Very Reverend Father Denis Pavichevich, priest of the Holy Resurrection Serbian Orthodox Cathedral was the host of the event, and clearly ran the show. Dressed in a gray cassock, accessorized with a large gold cross around his neck and a huge diamond-encrusted Confederate Battle Flag ring on his left hand, Father Denis -- as most people referred to him that evening -- was a friendly albeit imposing figure.

Flying in front of Pavichevich's residence next to the church is the third national flag of the Confederacy – just below a Serbian flag. In addition to running the church and being the RSVP contact for the Buchanan fundraiser, Pavichevich is vice-chair of the Northern Illinois Council of Conservative Citizens (Northern Illinois CofCC). He uses his church to hold regular meetings Council of Conservative Citizens meetings as well as this Buchanan fundraiser.

Staff from the Rockford, Illinois-based Rockford Institute also played an integral role at the event, running the registration table and doing the introductions.

The crowd milled around the lobby, browsing through copies of *Chronicles* and Buchanan's latest book, *Republic, Not an Empire*, as they awaited the arrival of the Reform Party candidate. There was a virtual absence of Reform Party literature. Several people in the crowd wore the green "Buchanan 2000" buttons of the *Spotlight*-run "Americans for Buchanan Committee" on their lapels.

As Buchanan entered the room with Pavichevich and *Chronicles* Foreign Affairs Editor Srdja Trifkovic, people began filing into the banquet hall and taking their seats. With the verve of a politician, Buchanan made his way through the crowd, shaking hands with many of the people sitting down. Towards the end of his rounds, Buchanan stopped to chat with John Kelly, the chair of the Northern Illinois Council of Conservative Citizens, who was surrounded by CofCC activists at his table.

While everyone was getting settled, Northern Illinois CofCC activist Mariusz Szajnert began passing out Americans for Buchanan Committee *Buchanan 2000* pamphlets from a large white garbage bag. Spotted by Fr. Pavichevich, who stopped and berated him, Szajnert returned to his table and put away the literature.

Another mini-commotion broke out at one of the CofCC tables. John Kelly brought a CofCC banner with him to the event. A discussion ensued about whether they should ask Buchanan to pose for a picture in front of it. But since the CofCC was a "controversial" group, they decided it might be too awkward for Buchanan to fully align himself publicly with CofCC. They settled for a group picture with Buchanan, without the banner.

After dinner, Thomas Fleming, head of the Rockford Institute, stepped up to the podium to begin the Buchanan introductions. During his lively and brief remarks, Fleming discussed how someone had labeled Buchanan a "loose cannon." To Fleming, that was a good thing. He extolled the virtues of being loose (able to turn to meet the opposition, on all sides, and not tied down by money) and a cannon (a dedicated individual who is powerful). He then introduced Trifkovic, to give a "more serious introduction."

Trifkovic appealed to the large contingent of Serbian-Americans in the crowd, by waxing on about how Buchanan is the only candidate who is pro-Serbian and how that position is a natural result of his "America First" stance.

Buchanan then took the stage for a canned stump speech and an announcement that Perot would not be running against him, followed by questions. During the Q & A period, Trifkovic seemed to guide Buchanan through the questions, at times whispering into his ear.

Fr. Pavichevich, after coordinating the questions, took over again, thanked Buchanan and the audience for coming, then closed with a prayer. Afterwards, Buchanan signed books, while CofCC activists passed out copies of the *Buchanan 2000* pamphlet, the CofCC publication *Citizens Informer*, and the edition of *Middle America News* with Buchanan on the cover.

Council Controversy

The Council of Conservative Citizens finds its roots in the Citizens Councils of America (CCA), more commonly known as the White Citizens Councils. The CCA formed in the wake of the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling that outlawed segregation in the nation's public schools. The White Citizens Councils did all they could to fight the *Brown* decision – by supporting segregationist politicians, inundating the South with segregationist propaganda and forming whites-only private schools.

While the CCA pursued these tactics, the organization attempted to maintain an air of respectability. But much of its membership overlapped with the Ku Klux Klan. One member with dual membership was Byron de la Beckwith, the killer of civil rights leader Medgar Evers.

After failing to preserve legal segregation in the south, the once mighty Citizens Councils slipped into disrepair. They reemerged with a flourish by transforming into the Council of Conservative Citizens (CofCC). The Council of Conservative Citizens was established by a group of its original leaders - including Robert Patterson, Bill Lord and Gordon Baum (current CofCC CEO).

Patterson, a founder of both the CCA and the CCC wrote in the *Informer*, "Western civilization with all its might and glory would never have achieved its greatness without the directing hand of God and the creative genius of the white race." He continued, "Any effort to destroy the race by a mixture of black blood is an effort to destroy Western civilization itself."

Patterson's statement is not an anomaly. All of the Council of Conservative Citizen core issues are racially charged: official recognition of Confederate battle flags, preserving monuments to the Confederacy, attacks against non-white immigration and affirmative action. For instance, columnist Martin H. Millard (also a columnist for the *Nationalist Times*) complained that minorities were turning the U.S. population into a "slimy brown mass of glop" - an act that he likened to "genocide."

CofCC has expanded its base by working in the political arena at the local level.

At the American Renaissance 2000 conference, Baum told the white nationalists gathered, "What we're trying to do is get down where the rubber hits the road and *do something*... Our emphasis is primarily on the local level. We've had some successes; we're not just spinning our wheels... We've had some victories, which are important for our people, we don't often have victories." Baum took the stage just after Bruno Grollnisch a leader in France's National Front.

The high level of activity has attracted a large dues-paying membership base, which CofCC figures put at 15,000. The bulk of that membership hails from the South but growth is also occurring along the east coast, in the Midwest, and in California.

The Council of Conservative Citizens can also claim influence in state and national government. According to CofCC co-founder Bill Lord, 34 members of the Mississippi state legislature are members of the organization. In addition, the CofCC has benefited from the presence of Mississippi Governor Kirk Fordice, U.S. Representative Bob Barr (R-GA), and Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-MS), among others, at their meetings.

The Citizens Informer

With the controversy about the Council momentarily mollified, a course for expansion was plotted. In December of 1999, the group decided to "greatly increase the size, presence - and frequency—of the Council newspaper" Rather than attempting to moderate their image, they dove deeper into white supremacy. To facilitate the expansion of the *Citizens Informer*, a new editor-in-chief and managing editor were selected: one a leading white nationalist thinker; the other, an unabashed white supremacist.

Editor-in-Chief - Samuel Francis

Samuel Francis has been described as the "philosopher-general of American white nationalism." More than any of his white nationalist peers Francis has successfully adapted his ideology to fit changes in geo-politics since the end of the cold war and articulated it as a battle plan for taking white nationalism to middle America.

Like Buchanan, Francis used to be part of the conservative establishment he now blasts. He once worked for North Carolina Senator John East and the Heritage Foundation – a leading conservative think-tank. In 1986, Francis began writing editorials for the *Washington Times* – the newspaper owned by Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church. His columns earned him 2 awards from the American Society of Newspaper Editors. When Buchanan announced his first run for office, Francis took over Buchanan's nationally syndicated *Washington Times* column.

Francis got into trouble after his appearance at a 1994 American Renaissance Conference where he put forth his connection between race and nation, "The civilization that we as whites created in Europe and America could not have developed apart from the genetic endowments of the creating people." He was first demoted from the *Washington Times*, and then fired after he wrote a column attacking Christian clergy who were seeking to atone for the sin of racism.

While now the editor-in-chief of the *Citizens Informer*, Francis continues to write for *Chronicles*, (see the Rockford Institute section in this report). His columns have appeared in the *Spotlight*, the weekly tabloid of the Liberty Lobby and the *New American*, the publication of the John Birch Society.

At the 2000 American Renaissance Conference, Francis called Buchanan a "friend." In the past, he reportedly served as an "unofficial" advisor to the Buchanan campaign (a charge he denies). In his book, *Revolution from the Middle*, Francis notes that in a private meeting in 1991 he urged Buchanan to bolt from the GOP, which he calls the "stupid party." On May 20, 2000, Francis was one of the main guest speakers at the Virginia Reform Party Convention where he spoke about "the great threat of Third World immigration into America and how Pat Buchanan and the reform Party are the only ones making this a major election issue."

Managing Editor - Chris Temple

The new *Citizen Informer* managing editor, Chris Temple, is a self-styled financial advisor and self-avowed "national socialist." Based out of Spooner, Wisconsin, Temple runs an investment business and publishes a financial journal called the *National Investor*. Like Sam Francis, Temple has made a career for himself in white nationalist journalism. Prior to coming to the *Citizens Informer*, he was the West Regional Bureau correspondent to *The Spotlight*, the Liberty Lobby tabloid.

At a speaking engagement in May 1997, Temple declared, "I am very much a national socialist." It was the National Socialist German Workers Party that brought Hitler to power and was responsible for the atrocities committed against millions during World War II, in particular, the Nazi Holocaust against European Jews. Temple has referred to Hitler's Germany as a "cultural and economic revival" and a "fight to rid the world of atheistic, Judaistic Communism." Temple has even declared his belief that "National Socialism is biblical."

While Temple began his political career as a New York State Moral Majority activist, today he is an adherent of the racist and anti-Semitic "theology" of Christian Identity, which preaches that Jews are Satanic and that people of color are inferior. Temple is a correspondent for the Christian Identity magazine, *The Jubilee*. He was a scheduled speaker at the 1996 World Aryan Congress hosted by the Aryan Nations in Hayden Lake, Idaho. He has also attended meetings held by Identity preacher Pete Peters, including the infamous "Meeting of Christian Men" which helped birth the militia movement, and a 1993 Peters Bible camp.

Temple is also a regular on the Patriot survivalist expo lecture circuit. He was a co-founder of the group United Citizens for Justice, a Patriot group that formed after the 1992 siege at Randy Weaver's cabin near Ruby Ridge, Idaho.

Citizens Informer Contributing Writers

A look at the list of contributing writers to the new *Citizens Informer* also highlights the white nationalist ideology printed in its pages.

Contributing writers for the *Citizens Informer* include: Reform Party Presidential Candidate Patrick J. Buchanan; Jared Taylor and James Lubinkas of *American Renaissance*; Glayde Whitney, a professor of psychology and neuroscience who wrote the introduction to David Duke's book, *My Awakening*; Dr. Greg Dixon, Pastor Emeritus of the Indianapolis Baptist Temple; Wayne Lutton, publisher of the anti-immigrant *The Social Contract*; Chuck Baldwin, a talk radio show host and former Florida state chair of the Moral Majority; Tom Adkins, director of The Common Conservative; Dr. Rebekah E Sutherland, a national board member of the Council of Conservative Citizens; Kevin Lamb, a conservative thinker who has written for *Chronicles*, *National Review*, and *The Social Contract*; James P. Philbin, publications editor for Gun Owners of America; Earl P. Holt III, co-host of "Right at Night" radio show with Council CEO Gordon Baum; Kevin Beary, a columnist who has written for the *National Review* and *The Journal of Historical Review*; and Nelson Waller, a feature writer for the *Citizens Informer* and a South Carolina CofCC activist.

The Rockford Institute and *Chronicles*

The other organization playing a key role in the June Chicago meeting is the Rockford Institute and its publication *Chronicles: a Magazine of American Culture*.

Founded in 1976, the Rockford, Illinois-based Rockford Institute is one of the leading advocates of the political philosophies most popularly associated with Reform Party Candidate Patrick Buchanan. Through annual summer schools, speakers bureaus, conferences and through coalitions such as the John Randolph Club, the Rockford Institute touts itself as dedicated to defending "the fundamental institutions of our civilization." James Stockdale, a retired U.S. Navy Vice-Admiral and a member of the Rockford Institute's board of directors, ran as H. Ross Perot's 1992 vice-presidential candidate.

The "think tank" promotes a brand of conservatism known as paleo-conservatism. Paleo, or "old" conservatism, emerged in response to the development of neo-conservatism, an intellectual movement of former liberals who supported the civil rights movement's drive to end Jim Crow, and the ideas embodied in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, yet opposed the call for social spending to address poverty embodied in the Southern Christian Leadership Council's "Poor People's Campaign." Today neo-conservatives generally support legal civil rights for people of color, oppose affirmative action, and propose a relatively liberal immigration policy for documented immigrants.

In response to this a new generation of old-line conservative intellectuals emerged, touting support for "traditional" culture, seeking to curtail immigration to "defend" this culture and promoting ultra-conservative racial policies. Thus, while neo-conservatives generally support the legal protections embodied in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, paleo-conservatives would role back the clock to the pre-civil rights era and beyond. Such ideas are on display in the writings of *Chronicles* editor Tom Fleming. Fleming argues that the Civil Right Movement was "wrong from the beginning" in "the premise that moral decisions can be coerced by government." Fleming here refers to the ban on employment discrimination found in the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Fleming, in fact, would do away with the Act altogether, advocating that "people who wish to discriminate in their business life" should rather simply face "a loss in profits they might make from selling to blacks."

Fleming goes even further, mounting an assault on the legal foundation of civil rights and equality before the law in the United States – the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. Arguing that "no one who believes in a federal system can accept the premise of the 14th Amendment," Fleming further asserts the genetic determinist view that has generally accompanied assaults on the rights of people of color in America. He writes that the "genetic differences" between the races "are responsible for gross statistical variations in...emotional and behavioral norms, and the various components of intelligence" (*Chronicles*, August 1994).

Given Fleming's views on matters racial, it is no surprise that he emerges as an apologist for the Reconstruction-era Ku Klux Klan. Fleming characterizes the Klan as a "national liberation army" of "ex-Confederates" who "refused to accept their status as a subjugated people." As such, Fleming argues, the "postwar struggles" carried out by the Klan were "only accidentally a struggle between races." (*Chronicles*, November 1997). Fleming's views on the Reconstruction Klan are in keeping with his position on the board of directors of the League of the South. This Alabama-headquartered group opposes the idea of "egalitarianism" between the races and argues that southern whites should not "give control over their civilization and its institution to another race, whether it be native blacks or Hispanic immigrants." To accomplish such goals, the League advocates overturning the 14th Amendment to the Constitution and states that "secession is the best way to restore good government to the South." The League has subsequently been a leading advocate of defending the use of the Confederate Flag in southern states.

Another regular at *Chronicles*, contributing editor and University of South Carolina professor Clyde Wilson, has frequently appeared in the magazine as a defender of the Confederate flag. In arguing for a defense of Southern tradition, Wilson paints a picture of the pre-Civil War as idyllic. Leaving out such aspects of the Confederacy as slavery, brutality, and the use of formal and informal paramilitaries to enforce slavery, Wilson's Confederacy becomes one of plantations that "black and white remembered as consoling" with institutions "so free that...the government never suppressed persons."

Fleming has also offered his own twist on history and its uses. While rejecting the crass Holocaust denial of David Irving and Ernst Zundel, he nonetheless attacks Holocaust education curriculum such as "Facing History and Ourselves" as a "reigning ideology" that has "displaced the authentic religion of Judaism." Such ideology, he argues, has been "distorted into a weapon to destroy every real and good thing in the traditions of European and American Christendom." (*Chronicles*, May 2000).

Another Rockford staffer adept at bending history for political purposes is Srjda Trifkovic, director of the Rockford Institute's Center for International Affairs and *Chronicles* Foreign Affairs Editor. Trifkovic has dismissed ethnic cleansing in Bosnia as being "fabricated by the Muslim side" and minimized the devastating war in the Balkans as nothing more than "*a medium-sized local conflict*." Trifkovic and Fleming are listed as heads of the "Coalition for a Just Peace in the Balkans," the group sponsoring the Chicago Buchanan fundraiser. Trifkovic introduced Buchanan at the Chicago event and helped guide him through the difficult foreign policy questions from the audience.

Before working at *Chronicles*, Srjda Trifkovic was a political advisor to Biljana Plavsic, the former President of Serbian Bosnia and a Serbian ultra-nationalist. Plavsic has called Bosnian Muslims "genetically deformed", and considers ethnic cleansing "perfectly natural." Plavsic explained, "I would prefer completely to cleanse eastern Bosnia of Muslims. When I say cleanse, I don't want anyone to take me literally and think I mean ethnic cleansing. But they've attached this label 'ethnic cleansing' to a perfectly natural phenomenon and characterized it as some kind of war crime" (*Bosnian Serb News Agency*, 1992).

Another foreign affairs contributor to *Chronicles* is James George Jatras, a foreign policy staff analyst on the Senate Republican Policy Committee. Earlier this year, Jatras was condemned by the Council on American-Islamic Relations and the American Arab-Anti Discrimination Committee for a speech he made at a May 1998 conference hosted by the Rockford Institute. In the speech and subsequent article in *Chronicles*, Jatras described Islam as a "gigantic Christian-killing machine", claimed that Islam is "a self-evident outgrowth not of the Old and New Covenants but of the darkness of heathen Araby," and depicted it as "a mandate for violence, war, and terror." The Council on American-Islamic Relations denounced Jatras' comments, "These remarks should be repugnant to all Americans. It is most disturbing that these bigoted and inaccurate views are allegedly espoused by a person who assists in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy."

If Tom Fleming is the “moral” voice of *Chronicles*, columnist and Rockford Institute advisor Sam Francis is the magazine’s field marshal, generating the strategies aimed at leading paleo-racism on a long-march to political power in America. For Francis, the key to victory is a constituency of white middle Americans angry at both political and economic elites and people of color. Following the winning vote for California’s Proposition 187, a proposal to deny health and social benefits to undocumented immigrants, Francis gleefully wrote that, “The vote for Proposition 187 goes far to re-legitimize the racial aspect of the American national identity.” The overwhelming “white support for the measure,” he continued, “suggests that an overt racial identity is now emerging as part of Middle American political consciousness.”

The “overt racial identity” Francis boosts is one that places whites at its head. This was seen in 1994 following the release of Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein’s *Bell Curve*, a book which inserted “race science” back into popular discussion by promoting the idea that genetic differences may explain why whites score higher on IQ tests than African-Americans. For Francis, in the world informed by the *Bell Curve*, the “discussion of race and government policies about race will be considerably more open and honest.”

Francis’ ideas about race led him to advocate alliances with hard-core white supremacists, arguing that “there can be no serious national campaign of the populist right without former Duke supporters [and] militia members.” (*Chronicles*, June 1996). For his part, Francis has engaged in just such an alliance through his place on the Board of the Council of Conservative Citizens. His strategy of courting a racially motivated white middle America has also led him to a position as co-chair of the American Immigration Control Foundation (AICF).

The role of race at the heart of Rockford Institute policy is made clear by *Chronicles* senior editor Chilton Williamson. In his 1996 book *The Immigration Mystique: America’s False Conscience*, Williamson mixes race and culture into a vision of the American nation in which whites must remain dominant. Bemoaning that “contemporary Americans have been trained not to contemplate the differences between the human races,” Williamson asserts that “at the end of the twentieth century the old WASP culture remains the only national culture worthy of the name.” Immigration, for Williamson, is an issue that “has finally to do with the Identity of the American nation,” an identity in which “race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture” operate at the “deepest emotional and sublogical levels” to define the American national identity.

That Williamson aims first and foremost to craft an immigration policy to protect the position of whites in America is seen when he bemoans that “immigrationists” (i.e., supporters of immigrants rights), “balk...at the suggestion that the United States has a right, not to mention a duty...to manage...the ethnic and racial composition of the people.” To implement such a policy, Williamson advocates a return to the racist immigration “quota” laws of the 1920s, policies that favored immigration by white northern and western Europeans. Such “quota laws,” he concludes, “came too late – after the horses had run into the barn.”

Liberty Lobby and the Americans for Buchanan Committee

In 1999, the Liberty Lobby – one of the most significant white nationalist organizations in the United States – advised its nearly 75,000 supporters against supporting Buchanan. He has “worthy ideas,” they said, “but the time for Pat’s leadership has passed. The moment is no longer his to claim.” Now that he has abandoned the GOP for the Reform Party, they’ve formed the Americans for Buchanan Committee, proclaiming in a “Special Voters Guide” that, “Patrick J. Buchanan is the one candidate for president who can turn America’s corrupt, bankrupt, plutocrat-controlled, two-party system upside down.” The brochures have popped up at white nationalist and Buchanan events across the country.

Announcing Buchanan's victory at the March 4 Maryland Reform Party state convention, *The Spotlight* declared, "This is another boost for his bid for the party's nomination. Copies of the newly-reprinted edition of the special report *Buchanan2000* were distributed at the convention." (*Spotlight*, March 20, 2000).

Desperate to assure a Buchanan victory, on June 25 the *Spotlight* put out a special email newsletter to its supporters.

Help Pat Buchanan!

We urgently need you to send us your U.S. mail address, no later than Tuesday June 27th, so that we can forward it and your name to the Presidential Nominating Committee of the Reform Party.

In early July, the Nominating Committee will mail official Reform Party primary ballots to those individuals whose names have been submitted to the by our campaign.

This is the final, critical hurdle for Pat to win the nomination, and take the America First message to the voters against Gore and Bush this fall. I know you want to help nominate Pat....but we must have your U.S. mail address for you to do so.

Nearly every week since Buchanan announced his defection from the GOP, *The Spotlight* has featured articles on the latest in the Buchanan struggle: either reprinting articles by Buchanan, putting forth calls to join the campaign, or attacking political opposition.



American Nationalist Union

The American Nationalist Union (ANU)—the outgrowth of the Populist Party—knows all about white nationalist 3rd Party Presidential bids. The Populist Party was the electoral vehicle for David Duke's Presidential campaign when he couldn't garner enough Democratic Party support. After fractionalizing into two camps, and failing to win popular support, the Populist Party folded in 1995, when it became the ANU. ANU Executive Director Don Wassall discussed his relationship with Buchanan and his fantasies about a Buchanan victory in a recent internal newsletter:

I had the opportunity to meet with Pat Buchanan at a reception for him in downtown Pittsburgh in March. I had met him before and occasionally correspond with him. He was very interested in *The Nationalist Times*, saying he reads it frequently and asking about circulation. Having a few moments alone with him while he and his wife Shelley were waiting for their ride to the airport, Buchanan responded to my question by indicating his intention to stay with the Reform Party after the election, albeit with some reluctance. He is probably less than thrilled with all the responsibility and pressure that is on his shoulders, being the only well-know politician to stand up for Middle America in a sea of jellyspines and sell-outs, along with all the vicious smears continuously made against him by the powers that be.

And if he were elected, America's internal enemies would do much of his work for him in cleaning up the country, as they would riot and otherwise cause so much chaos that Buchanan would have no choice but to become the strong leader America so desperately needs. If you believe and have prayed that Providence would rise up a leader in America's greatest hour of need, just maybe those prayers are being answered.

Throughout the year, the campaign has been a consistent theme in the *Nationalist Times* – the flagship publication of the American Nationalist Union. Quoting a January Buchanan speech, the magazine noted "Let it be said: Loyalty to the New World Order is disloyalty to the Republic."

APPENDIX A: Defining White American Nationalism

What is Nationalism?

Nationalism is an ideology, or a doctrinal prism through which individuals and social movements promote the interests of a particular nation. According to most dictionaries, a nation is a historically defined group of people with a common vernacular culture expressed through language and folkways. These people have a common set of political rights and responsibilities which they exercise on a common territory.

There are other definitions of nations and nationalism. A nation could be already established, as France is; or imagined, as Mozambique once was, for example, during the colonial period. According to ethnic nationalists, a nation is a self-identified people, much like an extended-family, defined by their common origins. This common descent is then often expressed in religion and culture. Racial nationalism is a variant of ethnic nationalism, in which the common origins are conceptualized in explicitly racial or "biological" terms.

What is White Nationalism?

White Nationalism is a variant of racial nationalism which holds that those people racially defined as white constitute a nation. It is important to remember that race is not considered a biological concept by mainstream anthropologists. It is a social construction. In addition, the "definition" of the "white race" has constantly changed throughout American history, and is still subject to debate in some circles.

There are several different forms of white nationalism in the United States. One form, which might usefully be dubbed "Pan-Aryanism," contends that white people (oft of northern European descent) in whichever land they live, are all part of one nation. By this account, white South Africans and Australians, white Germans and English and Americans are all one nation (without regard to territory). A second form, known as white American nationalism, holds that white people in the United States are one white nation among other nations. In both cases, Americans of African decent and other people of color are regarded as aliens, not members or natural citizens of the "white" nation. The United States (and its federal government) is regarded as a "multi-racial" or "multi-national" state.

What is Middle American Radicalism?

Middle American Radicalism is an ideologically complex phenomenon, first noted in the context of Gov. George Wallace's independent campaign for president in 1968. Sociologist Donald Warren described Middle American Radicals (MARs) in his 1976 study of Gov. George Wallace's presidential campaigns, *The Radical Center*. Warren identified MARsians as middle class political radicals who, while they shared some attributes with radicals of both the left and the right, had developed an ideologically complex, distinctive radicalism of the center. Unlike traditional conservatives, they believed in strong state intervention on their own behalf. Unlike traditional liberals, they opposed state intervention in society if it benefited others. MARsians saw themselves squeezed between a (black) underclass and the governing elites. They believed, Warren wrote, that "the rich give in to the demands of the poor, and the middle income people have to pay the bill." As such, they were alienated from most established institutions, such as political parties, churches, trade unions and the media.

What is Middle American Nationalism?

Middle American Nationalism is a specific variant of white American nationalism which is derived from middle American radicalism. Middle American nationalists cast themselves as the "true" patriotic Americans, finding their own national origins in the mythos of the so-called Founding Fathers. Middle

American nationalists regard the governing elites in the United States as "globalists," committed to the international free markets, cultural universalism and "one world government." They regard black people and other people of color as "multiculturalists," inimical to the national interests of white people. Unlike most other white nationalists, some Middle American nationalists are not *a priori* opposed to the nominal inclusion of Jews of European descent within the white American polity, provided they fully and completely assimilate.

Middle American nationalism only developed as a distinct phenomenon in the years after 1990, as ethnic and racial nationalist movements mushroomed in every corner of the globe. The emergence of these new nationalisms superseded many of the nationalist movements of the previous eras, including national liberation movements in colonial countries after World War One and during the Cold War. Today, this new nationalism is one of the most powerful movements opposed to the "globalism" of the "new world order."

APPENDIX B: Supporting Documents

The following are online versions of supporting documents. Additional supporting documents are available in the hardcopy version of the report.

["BNP Chairman Visits America." *Heritage and Destiny*. Summer 2000.](#)

["Buchanan Rattles the Establishment" *Heritage and Destiny*. Winter/Spring 2000.](#)

["Local News and Events." *Citizens Informer*. December 1999, volume 31.](#)

[Coalition for a Just Peace in the Balkans. "Support Pat Buchanan for President." Circa June 2000.](#)

[Cotterill, Mark. \(*American Friends of the BNP*\) *Members and Supporters Bulletin*. May-June 2000.](#)

[Francis, Samuel and Temple, Chris. "From the Editors." *Citizens Informer*. December 1999, volume 31](#)

[Liberty Lobby - Americans for Buchanan Committee. Buchanan 2000. Undated.](#)

[Spotlight Email Newsletter #47, June 25, 2000.](#)

[Wassall, Don. *American Nationalist Union Members Bulletin*. Spring 2000.](#)

About the Center for New Community's Building Democracy Initiative

From the Great Lakes to the great Plains, from the rolling prairies to the southern mountains, in village, small town and city alike, the Building Democracy Initiative is developing a lasting commitment to counter organized racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, and other forms of organized bigotry in the Midwest, through exposure, education, and organizing.

Exposing...

The Building Democracy Initiative researches and monitors white nationalist activity throughout the Midwestern United States. To expose organize bigotry and to educate about the dangers of far-right activity in the region, we publish the Midwest Action Report. This monthly update provides alerts and pinpoints trends in Christian Identity, Christian Patriot, Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazi and racist skinhead, and white power music activity. The Midwest Action Report also highlights community responses to building democracy and constructing effective barriers against hate. We also publish a number of special reports, such as *Soundtracks to the White Revolution: White Supremacist Assaults on Youth Music Subcultures*, and our annual report, *The State of Hate*.

Educating...

To raise awareness about the nature and scope of far-right activity, we also conduct workshops, public presentations, and other training events with civic and religious leaders throughout the Midwest. Working in close cooperation with Christian, Jewish, and other religious communities throughout the region, our education and training events equip community leaders to respond effectively to the racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, and other forms of bigotry accompanying white nationalist activity. By providing consultation and organizing support to communities responding to far-right activity, and by working with other organizations to address public policy issues related to such activity, the Building Democracy Initiative is helping to build strong, democratic responses to this danger in our midst. The Initiative also seeks to build democratic participation in the affairs of communities and institutions, and to redefine public dialogue and discussion on democratic values.

Organizing...

The Building Democracy Initiative works closely with communities to help them respond when organized bigotry comes to town. We are actively engaged in building a regional network of individuals and organizations from civic, religious, educational, labor, business and governmental sectors dedicated to countering hate. To bring people from across the region together, and equip them with the tools to effectively construct moral barriers against hate, the Center holds an annual Building Democracy Conference. In addition to our work to develop a vibrant regional network we work closely with a number of other international, national, and regional organizations working to promote democracy and civil rights.

The Center for New Community is a faith-based initiative whose mission is to revitalize congregations and community for genuine social, economic and political democracy.